/33 cont'd/
583 bow gravely, and without having opened their mouths go away to
584 share the lozenges and the cash.

The go-between rises and says aloud: "The flower has just been presented, let us proceed to the recognition of the alliance of the two families and the exchange of wine."

The two fathers-in-law rise and go to kneel in the middle of the rug, after bowing to each other. The go-between puts in the hand of each a little cup of gin, which they exchange and drink.
584 The cups are filled four times in a row, and they exchange them four
788 times; those present recite aloud one of the four following couplets:
539

Si che iang koang	May the feast be brilliant
man siu hoa	May flowers abound.
tse suen hoa	May the flowers which are the sons and grandsons
leang mien tch'a	Bloom on both sides (to the glory of the two families).
leang kia hi ngai	May the two families be happy
tso ts'in kia	To be related to each other.
sin ts'in kia	May the new family by marriage
mou tan hoa	Be like a peony (emblem of good fortune).

584 /34/ Then the two fathers-in-law rise and propose that all
[262] present drink in their turn. A light meal is served consisting of boiled mutton cut in pieces, bread, and noodles in the Chinese style....

The bride's family takes care to put into the father-in-law's carpetbag two strings of cash and several loaves of bread, always an even number; the other guests receive two loaves each. The jug is given back filled with gin.

/52 cont'd/

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allegorical roles, such as the role of a symbol of victory.... He also occurs in Lamaism as a human-faced bird with human hands, but then he appears to be only the adoring figure standing subordinate to another chief figure. When he is the figure of worship, he stands, with outspread arms and wings, facing a dying Yogi, his fangs /talons?/ piercing her breast. /Cited in German./ The chong live on Mount Sumeru, the T'ou-jen say, although Grunwedel (p. 180), speaking of the inhabitants of Mount Sumeru, does not mention the Garuda among them.

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A young man, Feng-tong-kouo, goes out into the valley every day to pasture his master's horses. Tche-mei-kouo, a young wife who lives on the plain, also comes there every day, bringing her sheep. They meet and sit down on the highest mountain, from whence they watch over their herd and flock.... Every day when leaving home, they climb up opposite sides of the mountain to join each other at the top. On the way they pick flowers and cypress branches. Every day they climb the highest peak together to light /53/ a fire there and burn their flowers and cypress branches, adding a pinch of flour made from parched wheat: This is their offering to the spirit Tsang-rtshié; then they prostrate themselves piously....

The husband of the young wife had developed a hatred for the herdsman on the other slope of the mountain. One evening he goes to his home, gets him drunk, and kills him with a dagger blow. When he comes home, he gives his wife the dagger covered with blood. She does not succeed in cleaning it with hot water or with cold. Then, taking saliva, she slowly succeeds. This is a revelation to her. Early in the morning she anxiously climbs the mountain in order to go and see the herdsman. People are already burning his

/53 cont'd/
539 body without succeeding. The fire goes out continually. She takes
831 her big hairpin and throws it into the fire. The fire flares up and bites the corpse for a moment, then goes out again. She throws on it in turn the copper cup attached to her headdress, her ring, her eardrops; then, taking off all her clothes, she throws them one by one into the fire, and each time the fire burns the corpse a little more. Finally, she jumps into the fire. The fire shoots up, glowing, at once and consumes the two lovers. A tree is seen to come out of the ground at the spot; it has two branches which intertwine but separate above. The husband of the dead wife, in a transport of rage, runs up with his axe to separate the two branches.... O, marvel, two wonderful birds fly away from the knot. They were the Chong-[illegible]. (1)

[171]

1. This very old legend is found all over Asia in many various forms. Études asiatiques /Asiatic Studies/, published on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Far-Eastern School, 1925, Vol. 1, p. 35, "The Peacocks Flew Away"... third-century Chinese poem by d'Ardouseau, and Vol. 1, p. 189, notes 1 and 2, Annamite poem, translated and annotated by G. Cordier.

585
533 Another song which the T'ou-jen never fail to sing at a wedding
539 dinner is a Tibetan song. It is enjoyed all the more because it is accompanied by dancing and gestures. It lends itself to a very expressive mimicry. It tells the story of a T'ou-jen Judith. In the T'ou-jen region of Lien-tch'eng the brigand Wang-mang had been terrorizing the region for years. In spite of the magnificent rewards promised by the emperor of China to anyone who could catch him, nobody /54/ was succeeding in taking or killing him; for he was vulnerable only under the armpit. The wife of a T'ou-jen military man by the name of Lou, known in the country for her marvelous beauty, succeeds in seducing Wang-mang, and at night in his tent

/54 cont'd/

539 she drives home the dagger under the armpit of Wang-mang, who is sleeping dead drunk beside her.

A flying courier carried the news of this exploit to Peking. The Judith saw herself bestowed with honorary titles, and her husband received the hereditary position of t'ou-se of Lien-tch'eng. This is the origin of the glory of the Lou clan.

In the lamasery at Lien-tch'eng are still kept two dried-up black hands, which are claimed to be those of Wang-mang. The T'ou-jen regard them with veneration. Unfortunately, they are two right hands! In addition, the origin of the function of t'ou-se of the Lou clan is entirely otherwise, as we shall see in the historical part of our work. The only fact to be retained from this legend is that there was in the region a robber named Wang-mang.

12. Getting the Bride

585 The Chinese diviner or the red lama has previously set the favorable hour at which the bride is to leave her paternal home. This departure can be set for any hour of the day or night. Therefore everything is prepared in order that the ceremonial be finished by the favorable hour of departure, which is called the mari funig.., or the hour when one mounts the saddle. The bridegroom goes to get his bride, with two companions well versed in the ways and cus-
585 toms and knowing how to sing well; often the go-between goes with
292 them. The son-in-law has put on his best /55/ clothes and wears the great ceremonial hat with red fringe (the one of the ancient dynasty of the Manchu); red cords are plaited into his hair. He carries a bow of olden times; on the end of the bow is attached a strand of red wool. A quiver worn on a strap over his shoulder con-
[411] tains four arrows. Upon his return home he will hang the bow above the window of the nuptial room where his wife will be brought, and the four arrows will be hung in each corner of the room. According to custom, the companions must wear a long, white garment of sheep's wool, a garment rarely worn by the men in the area.

585/68 cont'd/
431/ are all owners with personal title, all their properties are demarcated;
423 therefore it is no longer a question of demarcating lands. Is this an allusion to a previous social condition no longer remembered?)

585 "Generations have succeeded generations. When an idol of
539 Buddha is old and lusterless and when it is giled anew, it is again shining and beautiful to see; when one puts a brand-new border around an old garment, the garment has gained much by it; when to the old relations between families new ones are added, they become all the stronger. Among you was born a boy who had all the virtues of the lion; among us was born a girl like the "khuĭ t shiąn" (mythological bird). It was the ideal combination for a marriage. But how would this union have been able to be accomplished? (The cupbearer pours wine for the go-between and bows to him.) If one does not see clouds in the sky, no rain will fall; if there are no go-betweens on the earth, there will be no marriages. (1) What was too high, you, go-between,

1. Compare Anthropos, 6th year, p. 320, Schotter, "Notes ethnogr. sur tribus du Koei tcheou": Just as thunder and lightning pave the way for rain, so go-betweens are necessary to pave the way for marriages.

have lowered; what was too low, you have raised; the high and the low have met on the same level like the lever arm of the balance. You have leveled off the way on which the two parties have traveled.

"In olden times they used to thank the go-between for his services by dressing him in new clothes from head to foot; but the feeble means of our poor family allow us to offer you only a pair of boots and a string of cash. We hope nevertheless that you will be satisfied."

585 /69/ After giving the gift to the go-between the orator usually
608 addresses the maternal uncle of the bridegroom. The cupbearer bows to him and pours gin for him. "When a son," he says, "has no wai-kia (the son calls his mother's family wai-kia /Chinese term for one's mother's family, literally, "outside family"/, i.e., all her relatives,

M /70 cont'd/
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431 "And you, our daughter, you are also the child of your times. Formerly, the gifts which the parents gave to their daughter were so numerous that they had to be transported on wagons or a whole herd of oxen was loaded with them. We give you the following gifts (see No. 11). Truly they are insignificant; it is as if we were giving a naked daughter to the mother-in-law.

"To you all, relatives by marriage, we pour wine, be indulgent and content." Then the master of ceremonies out loud orders the bride and groom to kneel to the whole assemblage; then wine is poured for all the guests. (1)

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1. Father De Smedt gives me a variation of the master of ceremonies' speech, although noting that the T'ou-jen from whom he got it even told him that he had forgotten a good deal about the subject. Although this speech is incomplete, it contains variations which are worth the trouble of being kept: "A dog does not date bark in the presence of a tiger, thus it is not fitting for a little man like me to speak before an assemblage as respectable as yours. A horse of small size does not run fast, they say; thus the words of a man without merit are insignificant. If you succeed in understanding my words, do not attach any importance to them; if you do not understand them, do not make fun of me. When an old statue is newly gilded, when a brand-new border is put on an old garment.... Thus it is a praiseworthy practice always to become related to families with which marriages have been contracted for many generations...," The rest is about as we have related above.

HM
583 Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2, p. 305. The dowry of the girl consists,

/135 cont'd/

586 and will if need be help her in the task. Thus the wife maintains face; she will be able to say that she did not want her husband any more, and he will not have any difficulties with his wife's family either, since it is the daughter who wanted to go away. In the end, the husband will even profit greatly by the sale of his wife. On the other hand, if the wife insists on not wanting to look for another match, the husband will be patient and will not resort to repudiation except as a last extreme. That is the ordinary course of the preambles to divorce.

/136/ 2. Causes of Divorce

593 The causes of divorce appear to be more or less numerous.
586 The primary and most ordinary cause is certainly interest in another person, which brings on mutual and daily increasing aversion between the husband and wife. A wife can fall and that is understood; the husband will even allow his wife not to come home at night from time to time, for he himself does not come home regularly every evening, either. Grounds for divorce require regular and therefore public relations.

626 Do not think, however, that husbands give complete freedom
837 to their wives; do not believe that all husbands are indifferent to
539 these things. They tell about a good many cases in which the wife and her lover, having been surprised at night, were tied together or tied to a stake, beaten, etc., by the heads of the village with whom
837 the husband had lodged a complaint. The families of the guilty ones
672 were called, they had to act as guarantors for their members; then the guilty man had to offer his apologies to the injured husband and give him a pig, a sheep, etc. The level of morality among the T'ou-jen has not yet fallen so low that they no longer know their duties and rights in these matters. So it is not rare to see a husband beat his wife and to hear the wife, on her knees, beg her husband, "Big brother, pardon me this time; big brother, treat me with indulgence this time, that won't happen any more." Now one does not ask pardon and one does not allow oneself to be beaten when one's conscience is clear.

[59 cont.]
357 festive banquet; the people sing and dance around the new central fort (8).
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[171]

8. [Foreign text p. 61.] The round manger is also commonly erected by the Chinese. The farther east one goes, however, the rarer it becomes. In any case, among the Chinese the mani-pole in the round manger is lacking, and sometimes even the structure, in other words, the manger itself. For them it is important only that an urn be buried in the center of the yard, and the construction of every compound practically begins with this burial of the urn. This spot or the round manger is called chung-kung, that is, central fort, or yüan-ts'ao, that is, round manger. The ceremony is performed by the lay bonze or by a Tao-shih, temple bonze, but usually the geomancer indicates the spot where the urn (or the urns) is to be buried. This is connected, however, with the geomantic determination of the whole compound.

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● 539 Song: After the erection of the central fort or the mani-tree, the following song is popularly sung: "If one steps through the large gate, what then is round? If one steps through the large gate, then the round manger is round; half-yaks, mules, horses form a circle, and in the middle rises the mani-tree. If one steps into the kitchen, what then is round? If one steps into the kitchen, the kettle and lid are round; cups, bowls, and dishes form a round herd, the wooden spoon rises up in the middle. If one steps into the main house, what then is round? If one steps into the main house, the fire basin is round. Relatives and friends sit around it, and in the middle the wine jar rises up."

[67 cont.]

*778 776 the little stone mounds signify fertility (4).

4. [Foreign text p. 69.] The Tujen distinguish three great spirits: the sky, the mountain-spirit, and the earth-god. It should be emphasized that the characteristics of the mountain-spirit come fairly close to those of the sky (cf. Part 2). -- The special sacrificial animal for the [231] mountain-spirit and the sky is the sheep. -- To the earth one sacrifices pigs, and always in the compound, whereas one sacrifices to the sky and the mountain-spirit usually in the open. -- The ritual for the pig sacrifice is the same as for the sheep sacrifice: washing, fumigating, milk pouring, etc., which makes a very strange impression in the case of this animal, an indication that the pig sacrifice was not adopted until a later time and was confused with the sheep-sacrifice rituals.

●539 *778 The first obo: According to the Tujen legend of the Geser xaan, the first obo was erected in the golden age of mankind by the first xaan on earth, the Hamluo siergän:

"Everything was very good. It was a time of honey and fat. At the beginning of the three summer months he erected a regieńguo obo on the peak of the Rira-ntumbo. Hamluo siergän sank into contemplation. Of (sc. the three) Gadbo Huala, Šdonšdog Sienba, Sasin Dadma, one went to break cypress twigs, one to buy spices, and one to gather white stones. He sat in contemplation for a week. When a week had passed, he erected the regieńguo obo. In the obo he placed the mother dog Tsila, on whose body he scattered spice-medicine. He wrapped silk around its body. Then he sprinkled holy water over it. He invited the regieńguo lama, who recited the consecrating

[67 cont.]

539 *778 prayer. He prayed for seven days. On this obo they heaped white stones. Within the circle of the obo they piled large stones in layers. On the peak of the obo they stuck cypress twigs and tied wool from the white sheep to them. They covered the circle of the obo with white earth (5). They wrapped the obo with silk.

[822]

5. [Foreign text p. 69.] The white color is the lucky color of Lamaism. The white conch, the white earth-god urns, the white flocks of wool on the twigs of the tree of life are to be recalled. When someone starts a journey it is said: may your way be white. Among the Tulkus this is even symbolically expressed by scattering flour, chalk, etc. on the path. The monasteries are painted white, and the palace of the earth-spirit is supposed to be white.

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In the days of the three summer months they threw at the obo, galloping on their horses. They threw white stones, they threw gold and silver, they threw grain and butter. And the life of man unfolded" (6).

6. [Foreign text pp. 69-70.] This passage is literally translated from the Tujen version of the Geser legend as it was dictated to me by a singer with the aid of the old man. It characteristically shows how closely the conception of the obo is connected with Buddhistic forms. Nothing is to be seen of the repeatedly asserted hostility between Buddhism and pre-Buddhistic cults. In lamic monasteries there are books concerning the erection of obos; I did not succeed in seeing such a book, however,

[67 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 69-70 cont.]

or in learning anything further about the rites. I was merely told that there is a whole series of obo types, among them some that are not erected by by lamas. Furthermore the objects put in an obo pit were said to vary greatly. Preferably, urns, kettles, and implements were placed there.

In this myth a dog is buried in the obo, and, it seems, a live one. It is treated like other Lamaistic divine figures that are animated by a deity: it receives a silk garment, is sprinkled with holy water, and has spices cast on it; the votive prayer is given. It is a mother dog. The significance of this dog Tsila could not be determined. Presumably it was one of the tribal animals. The Chinese in the Tujen village Hua-ling-kou (Huchu County) claim that the [70] Tujen bury a dog in the obo. This dog is said to be their ancestor. My informant very definitely disputed this, and I was unable to obtain any further information concerning this contention. From where did people get this story? They said that it had been handed down in this form. At any rate, it is striking that the dog occurs in this Tujen myth. On the other hand, it is to be considered that the informant is well acquainted with the disparaging Chinese conception (also in the literature) that the barbarians are descended from dogs. -- The dog also plays a role among the Tujen as the provider of the first barley and furthermore, in connection with the weather fort of the dog yelping at the sky, hao t'ien chen (Chin.).

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[67 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text pp. 69-70 cont.]
But this dog in the weather fort is connected with the dog of the same name of the hero Geser, hao t'ien ch'üan (Chin.).

For the rest, the basic features of the obo veneration appear in this myth: casting votive gifts, the circling (that is, on horseback, as is said to be done still among the neighboring Mongols), incense offerings. -- Weapons are not mentioned, but the cypress twigs that are stuck on the white stonepile are. -- And above all it is noteworthy that the obo is erected on the world-mountain and this probably gives the real connection and deeper meaning, which by no means need be Buddhist.

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This suggestion would also correspond to what, for example, Bastian writes (Chinareisen [China Travels], pp. 395 ff.), that the obo represents the mountain Sumeru. And the many small stonepiles in the direction of the various points of the compass thus also fit into the same world-picture. Cf. Unkrig in Filchner: Kumbum, Note 1638.

[772]

The mani-strings are evidently likewise a Lamaistic product, perhaps a substitute for the sheep's shoulder bones formerly hung from them, which Bastian, loc. cit. p. 601, mentions. The Tujen no longer know anything about these shoulder blades. It cannot be explained why the two strings, the black and the white, are differentiated in this way here.

[627 cont.]
527 cannot sing or sings incorrectly, his opponent cuts a piece from
533 the lappet. Thus one can sing away his whole garment in an evening.

Above all, the young people meet on the threshing floor and in a circle sing all kinds of songs. This lasts the entire
[883] night, especially at the first [628] full moon. Only towards morning do they stop. Boys and girls mingle freely in the circle. Small boys dressed in reversed hides represent demons and beat on pieces of wood; others imitate Chinese traders, play all kinds of tricks, etc. (5).

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[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 628-629.] These round dances are exactly like those among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiafandse. Men and women and boys and girls form [629] a circle. One person leads the song and also indicates the dance movement. The others sing the refrain and repeat the movement together. They also dance in twos to the rhythm of the song. These dances are also performed generally at entertainments, for example, at a wedding, upon the arrival of the lama, etc. There are many kinds of the songs. They are divided into two groups: family songs, which are decent and are sung in the house; wild songs, whose content, taken from love-life, is usually quite crude. The melodies to a great extent are the same as among the Fandse. Besides Tujen songs Chinese and Tibetan songs are also sung. The song given here is Tibetan in its original text. -- At these moonlight dances the young people spend the entire night out in the open, and more than

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[628 cont.]

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[883]

[Note on foreign text pp. 628-629 cont.] one couple is seen disappearing off to one side. Concerning the types of songs, cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder."

After the fifteenth day the common workaday life begins again. The many oil-loaves, however, are eaten for a long time.

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Song: On New Year's the following song is popularly sung:

1. On New Year's one makes a kowtow to the sky, burns incense, and then one eats.
2. If you observe the laws of the emperor, in later life you will become a minister
3. If you do not forget the kind deeds of the parents, you will later live long.

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Word List

New Year: šeni sara = new month.
To celebrate the New Year: šeni sara nogdzini.
Last day of the old year: tsiafudzarē šēlõn = of the thirtieth evening.
udurdza xuānuo = day - late.
To slaughter pigs: xgeni ala-.
[252] To bake oil-baking: tsiangguor tsina-.
To distill wine: dērasēngē dzinlie-.
To roll thin noodles: narin šēlõnge dielge-.
To steam pastry: šēmienge dzinlie-.
To bake Tachur bread: tagur šdimienge sira-.
To celebrate the thirtieth when it grows dark: xara wolgu tsiafudzar nogdzi-.
Please do not sleep today, the gods are to be welcomed early tomorrow morning: niu šēlõn bi ndēra, malõn siernege purgan dzēliegu-.
To burn a little stick of incense: gudzi šda-; shao-hsiang (Chin.).
To burn paper: bio šda; shao huang piao (Chin.).

[217 cont.]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Weiyüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rëġuo

772 776 192 [821] For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, rëġuo and tieńgëre. The word rëġuo is little used and then only in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarġui, which is to be equated with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarġui, there is none in which oktarġui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieńgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, reġuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuġuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuġuo rëġuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuġuo rëġuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] [539] xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to

[218 cont.]

each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus, in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xela; kuguo rĕguoni dzindzini xela (the black earth's dark bird calls; the light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rĕguo has been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of the rĕguo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rĕguo in its meaning as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tieńgĕre, its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

tieńgĕre

tieńgĕre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same adjectives as the word rĕguo, in other words, with kuguo (blue), undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky, stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuguo tieńgĕre, xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219] simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H. Vambéry and Barbier de Maynard, the concepts "the light," "brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[222 cont.]
782 it was surmised that a primitial offering might likewise be involved, for it is the first offering of the day, in which man gives to heaven something of all things important to life. Arguing against the primitial offering, however, is the simple form of the incense offering, which consists essentially of the burning of fragrant things, of cypress twigs (4), flowers, etc. These,

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4. When the popular word cypress is used here, the Thuja tree in the botanical sense is always meant; cf. Anthropos, 47, 1952, p. 46 [p. 72 above in the HRAF translation]. The Tujen name ɣua (= Tibetan šug-pa) has several meanings. Among the Tujen the Thuja tree always represents the cypress, and above all the juniper (Juniperus), which in their region of cultivation occurs only infrequently and at most is encountered in the mountains. The difference is purely material; in the religion the Thuja tree takes over the position of the juniper and the cypress. Professor Doctor J.F.Rock, as a botanical expert, no longer found any cypress north of Minchow (Kansu), but he did still find ten species of juniper (personal communication).

however, are no longer foodstuffs if one disregards the water with which the fuel for the fire is sprinkled in order to purify it.

782 [223] This simple form of the incense offering seems
● 539 at the outset to have been reserved exclusively for heaven and
[171] is of great antiquity. It is also attested to among the Mongols as a heaven-offering, and among the Tujen it is found in numerous songs. Several citations will confirm this, first from the Geser legend. In Verses 1-6 the customs of the first human

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[223 cont.] beings are described: "One clothed oneself in tree leaves. One ate tree fruit. One lay on flower leaves. When one was thirsty, he drank water. At daybreak one burned great incense (šdeliedzi šge fdzaṅ ġarġani)." In Verses 38-42 it is related how the first emperor burns incense in order to perform a heavy task: "When he was supposed to churn together the earth on the immense spring water, this was terribly difficult. And burning a great incense offering, he implored the light heavens (šge fdzaṅni ġarġadzi kuġuo tieṅgërni yaṅdziladzia)." Verses 158-167 de-

[824] scribe another incense offering of the first emperor. He gathers flowers (kānba flowers = Artemisia species) on the shady side of the mountain, juniper twigs on the sunny side, scoops pure water from the river, and then it is said: "Climbing onto the high mountain he burned great incense, implored the heavens, implored the countless spirits... (undur ġadadu ġaridzi šge fdzaṅni ġarġaya, šge tieṅgërni yaṅdzilaya, uluon purġani yaṅdzilaya...). The offering in this case is also presented to other spirits, but heaven is in first place. This is also emphasized by the fact that it takes place on a mountain. None of the purġan is mentioned by name. The daily incense offering is mentioned in Verses 190-193: "Daily burning incense, he lived (sc. the first emperor). From below rose the great incense, and the smoke

[776] of the incense pushed open the gate of heaven; and the exalted Sdeṅlatsien-saṅ (= the highest heaven lord) looked down." (Udurdu fdzaṅ ġarġadzi sōdzamba. dōrōdza šge fdzaṅni ġarġano, fdzaṅni funini tieṅgërni udieni baġa niedzia. Sdeṅlatsien-saṅ dorodzi nōdzia.) The relationship of the incense to heaven is unambiguous here. (For further details concerning the Šdeṅlatsien-san, cf. below.) The passage concerning the heavenly wanderings of the first emperor, Verses 1221-1222, runs similarly: "Then on his wanderings he came before the great gate of heaven, and the smoke of the great incense pushed open the gate of heaven." (Di yōdzi tieṅgërni šge udie tada kurdzia. šge fdzaṅni funini tieṅgërni udieni baġa niedzia.) On earth, namely, one burns incense during this time so that the undertaking of the journey to implore a ruler from heaven will succeed.

[223 cont.]

782 539 Further evidence is also found in the first part of the animal song cycle, the "Moschus deer." Verses 191-201 describe the incense offering in the following manner: "There is a procedure for catching the Moschus deer. Climb the north side (of the mountain)and pick green juniper twigs. Climb the sunny side and gather white kănba flowers. Go down to the flat plain and gather yellow kănba flowers. Go to the bank [224] of the river and burn great incense. Venerate the great heaven, implore the countless gods." (šge fdzaṅbeṅ ġarġaya, šge tieṅgēre amudadzi, uluon purġan yaṅdzilaya.)

[533] Now one more example from the wedding song, "The Bird Pair." The pair, shepherd and shepherdess, sing alternately: "When the sun rises shining, we pick green cypress twigs. Climbing up the shady side, we gather white kănba flowers. Descending to the flat plain, we scoop up clear water. Climbing up the high mountain, we burn great incense, and burning the great incense it is a good job when we are a pair." (šge fdzaṅṅi ġarġaya; šge fdzaṅṅi ġarġadza, tsiari ġuori sguren-wa.)

782 174 These examples from the popular literature can be multiplied at will. The passages cited, however, suffice to secure the following conclusions: 1. The original form of the incense offering was extremely simple. Juniper twigs, flowers, and purification water belong with it. The offering was purely an aromatic offering. Although fire is naturally necessary also, it is nowhere mentioned. Not even the expression "to set afire" is used. The usual word "ġarġa" is the causative of "ġari-" (to generate, to produce, to rise) and refers here to the smoke. No foodstuffs are offered. The other additions, spices, etc., can be explained from Lamaism (5). Whatever in the way of

5. J.F. Rock also establishes for the Na-khi an original simple form, juniper twigs and butter; the other additions were not added until later; see Naga Cult, pp. 231 f.

foodstuffs is still offered in the present form should be conceived

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

T'ai-tsu of the Ming dynasty designated his grandson, 538
Hui-ti, to succeed to the throne in 1399. After three years, his uncle Ch'eng-tsu (Yung-lo period), usurped the throne and Hui-ti perished in a conflagration of the palace. A note added in the history states that it is related that Hui-ti escaped, disguised as a lama, and wandered incognito from monastery to monastery in Yunnan and south China; that he finally returned to Peking in 1440, and died after revealing his identity. This topic seems to be the basis for the legends concerning Ch'ü-t'an. However an "historical" fact may well have provided the fabric from which was woven the legend elaborated by the lamas, since the fact concerns the very province of Kansu.

At the time of the collapse of the Sung dynasty in 1276, the last emperor, Chao-hsien, was made prisoner by the Mongol conquerors in Hang-chou and the Chinese imperial harem was transferred to the north. In 1288 the imperial prisoner was sent (banished) to Kansu (Ho-hsi) in order to study Tibetan sutras. In Kansu he became a lama monk and adopted the religious name of Ho-tsun (mKha-'bcum). He died in 1323 in Kansu, a century before the founding of Ch'ü-t'an.

During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) Chinese scholars liked to gossip about the possible Chinese origin of the Mongol emperor, Shun-ti,[32] as well as the possible Mongol origin of the Ming emperor, Ch'eng-tsu (Yung-lo period). These tales are well known among the lamas and the Monguors.

A lama, honored for his holiness, lived in secluded 539
retirement on a high mountain near Ch'ü-t'an. He left for Peking one July carrying a small pack held by a light wooden frame, on his back. The heat was tropical and the holy man threw his mantle in the air, where it remained floating over his head protecting him the whole long way, even in the streets of Peking. Emperor Hui-ti, seeing the miracle, renounced his throne, left the palace and harem, and followed the returning holyman to Ch'ü-t'an with two of his ministers and his two brothers, all of whom became lamas.

At first the emperor resided at the very small monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an. He sent his cattle and horses to the pastures of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and went to Ch'ü-t'an. There he planted his stick at a certain spot and suddenly it turned into a blossoming sandalwood tree; whereupon he decided to build a monastery and a temple around the tree. A dry tree is still shown inside the temple, adorned with ceremonial scarves offered by the worshipping people who pass under its branches in order to receive blessings. Three small trees outside the temple are said to have sprouted from the dry tree.

The emperor had a well dug to be used for watering his horses. A small lama boy, while drawing water, fell

[32] P. Pelliot, L'Edition collective des œuvres de Wang Kouo-wei, *T'oung Pao*, 26: 136, 1926.

[p.22(A)]

4; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

into the well and disappeared. Only his clothes were seen in the river with which the well was connected underground. The emperor ordered the well to be filled and had a beautiful tower built over it. The ruins of the tower are still shown to visitors. 539

There are displayed in the head temple three fine saddles of unusually large size, with stirrups twice as large as those used today, for in former times people of note were taller, bigger, and stronger. The saddles are said to have belonged to the emperor and his brothers. When the emperor died his two ministers, in fear of having their families exterminated, changed their names. The first adopted the name of Chen Lo-kang, and his descendants still live in the Kang-tse Valley near Nien-pei. The other adopted the name of Yang Kang-tsun; his descendants live in Chen fan Valley. 538

The emperor appointed a member of the imperial family to manage the lamasery. He was called T'ien-hu-chun, and his name was Chu, the name of the imperial family. The appointment was hereditary and the emperor had carved on a slab the provisions concerning the appointment. The descendant of Mr. Chu presided over the ceremony of theatrical representations on New Year's. Later on, a corrupt descendant, after using the revenues and land taxes of the monastery for himself, was killed by the lamas, and the slab was smashed. The plinth which supported the slab is still shown to visitors.

Inside the courtyard of the enormous temple are the ruins of four beautiful stupas built by the Emperor. At the base of each he had buried, at night, immense treasures. One of the previous incarnations of the Living Buddha dug up the treasure from one of the stupas at night and took it to his residential quarters; but within a few moments his palace vanished in a blaze. Since that time, no one has dared to try to remove the treasures.

Upon his death, the emperor was buried in the lamasery. However, the lamas of Hung-shan-ssu claim that the emperor died and was buried in their monastery, and they have the visitor admire their own ruined tower built over a well and their own old dry tree enclosed in their temple. These honored trees, enclosed by a temple, point to the tree of Kumbum which sprouted from the afterbirth of Tsong khapa buried in Kumbum, even as the small trees sprouted from the roots of the old dry one. The tower built on the well points to the stupa of Kumbum, said to be the first monument built at Kumbum. It is hard to say which of these legends is the oldest.[84]

Temples and History of the Lamasery

Inside an enormous rectangular courtyard are three temple halls built in a row; a wall encloses the court- 792 376

[84] In Kumbum in 1577 there was built a temple enclosing the celebrated tree which was at that time 223 years old.

[p.22(B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

Hsining River in the main country of the Monguors. Its Tibetan name is *dGon lung*. *"dGon"* means a hermitage, hence a monastery; *"lung"* means valley—the hermitage of the valley. In Chinese literature it is called *Ku-lung*; the Chinese and Monguors call it *Erh-ku-lung*. It is situated at the entrance of a valley on the northern side of the T'u-Kuan Mountains. Erh-ku-lung is the mother monastery of all those situated north of the Hsining River. Its lamas in 1911 were mostly of Monguor origin, or Mongols from Mongolia, together with Tibetans of Huang-chung. Its administration was Monguor and its prominent Living Buddhas had always been reincarnations born in Kansu or Kukunor.

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Legends

The origin of Erh-ku-lung is overlaid with legends. The saying goes that during the Yüan period (1280-1368) a Buddha appeared to a holy lama of the Sa-skya Sect, called Diasai, absorbed in profound meditation, and ordered him to build a monastery in Huang-chung on a site he designated. The next day the lama started his journey. He wandered many years in order to find the indicated site. Finally, he recognized it at Erh-ku-lung and the Monguors started building a hermitage. A handsome, very intelligent young man of Erh-ku-lung, called Sumpa, asked the lama to accept him as his apprentice and to instruct him. The happy holy man devoted his energy and marvelous ability to educating the young man. More young recruits arrived. The holy lama returned to Tibet with two of the most intelligent novices, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan. He entrusted the task of caring for the monastery in the meantime to the young Sumpa. The lama died in Tibet and the two novices, after brilliantly completing their studies in Tibet and writing learned books, returned to Erh-ku-lung, performed miracles, and died at the same time as Sumpa. All three were reincarnated and became the celebrated three Living Buddhas, who are the co-proprietors and chiefs of Erh-ku-lung.

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At that time a lama of Erh-ku-lung, born in the neighborhood of Chie-bzan, enjoyed the reputation of holiness. After his death he was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung and was called the Living Buddha Chie-bzan. Another holy lama, born in Har-ch'in (Liao tung), called Wang, died and was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung as the Living Buddha Wang. These two smaller incarnations, in conjunction with the three former incarnations who received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor, constitute the board of the monastery, called "wu-ta-nang," which is still in existence. A residence was built by them for Diasai, the holy founder of the monastery, but the holy man failed to return from Tibet. At present, however, two lamas are still appointed to keep the home ready for the eventual return of the departed saint. They enjoy the nominal privilege

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

of receiving eighty shares at the time of distribution of alms to the lamas. 792 539

A second legend explains in another way the origin of the monastery, and its peculiar administration by five Living Buddhas. One of the first Dalai Lamas lay dying on his bed in Lhasa from a terrible abscess on his thigh, which was greatly swollen. It would not yield to medical attention. Finally, the state oracle of Lhasa received in his trances notification that five Living Buddhas were confined in the tumor, and had to be released before the abscess would respond to medication. Lamas were sent all over the world to find an enormous sandalwood tree, recently uprooted by a big storm, in which the five Buddhas were confined. A whole army of lamas started in search of the life-saving tree. They eventually found it in the country of Erh-ku-lung. In the presence of an enormous crowd they started sawing the trunk of the fabulous sandalwood tree. Suddenly the teeth of the saw scratched on something which seemed hard as stone, and five statues of Buddhas escaped in the air. With the instinct of homing pigeons they fell on the very spot where a monastery was to be built. This is the origin of the temple and its "Wu-ta-nang." It is said the statues are locked in a closet in the temple, but no one is allowed to see them, the key being kept by the Chang-chia Hutukhtu.

History of the Lamasery

The origin of Erh-ku-lung seems, however, to have been less miraculous. The construction of the monastery started in 1604, after the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan (1598–1616), sent the lama, Don Yod Choskyi rgyamtso, from Lhasa to the region of Erh-ku-lung, to invite and encourage the people to build a lamasery. 175 792

The first great lama was Sumpa Danchos rgyamtso, born in Sumpa close to Erh-ku-lung.[77] He started with a small community, but attracted more and more novices. It was he who laid the foundation for the monastery.[78] Nothing more is known about this lama[79] except that twice he fulfilled the office of *Fa-t'ai* (see p. 61) of Erh-ku-lung, once in 1621 and again in 1649. These facts seem to support the supposition that the newly founded monastery soon flourished, all the more since a branch had been established at RGyud pagrva, the later monastery of Hsien mi-ssu, from the very beginning.[80] Two lamas, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan,[81] must have been members of

[77] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia. *Bull. Ecole française d'Extrême Orient* 14: 253, 1951. Sumpa possibly originated from the ancient Tibetan (Mi-nag) Sumpa tribe, which had submitted to the king of Tibet. At the time of K'ri sron lde btsan (eighth century) the tribe had been appointed warden of the Sino-Tibetan frontiers of the country of Mi-nag.

[78] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45.

[79] *Idem* 3 (5): 19.

[80] *Idem* 3 (1): 45.

[81] Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1882: 1 and 5. In Tibet all great personages are called after the name of their birthplace, also sects; *Sa-Skya, Jonanpa, Shanpa, Digun*

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

directors of the exercises, and their stock of punishments for injustices never seemed to be exhausted. People who committed injustices had to repair their faults by being a servant, in their future life, of the person who had suffered on their account, or of being reborn as a donkey, a horse, or an ox, plowing their fields, carrying fertilizer, or harvesting. Even the slightest injustices are not overlooked by the terrible judge, for in order to repair the smallest injustices he makes men and women transmigrate into a hen, laying eggs for years, in behalf of the person who suffered because of them. The topic of reparation for injustices seemed to be an obsession of all the preachers, who seldom hinted at other questions of morals, and so the feeling concerning the widespread rite of repairing injustices, among laymen as well as lamas, and even Hutukhtus, becomes understandable. Never did they hint at the shamanist rites performed in private families.

The topic of the old Li, concerning gentle behavior with animals, was the delight of the fasters, who every year asked him to tell again the marvelous anecdotes he had stored in his repertory concerning the subject, for in his lively telling even old chestnuts took on a new glow. The keen interest of nomads in their animals is a matter of common knowledge. Since the Monguors still love their animals in the way of their ancestors, it is no wonder that they asked for that topic, and that they adored the old Li, whose talks hit straight at their hearts. Below are some of his well-known examples.

In India, an old Living Buddha went every day to preach in monasteries and explain texts. He rode an old elephant which, while the religious exercises of his master lasted, knelt devoutly, listening before the temple gate. The old Living Buddha loved all animals with effusion, and especially his faithful elephant. When the elephant died, the Living Buddha made it reincarnate in a strong boy belonging to a poor family. The heavy boy had the exact gait of an elephant, a big, oval long head, unusually long nose and ears, and an appetite as voracious as that of an elephant. No room was left for doubt; the elephant had reincarnated in a human being. The boy, at the age of seven, became the beloved apprentice of the old Living Buddha. After a few years, the master and his apprentice died at the same time. The reincarnation of the holy man was found in a boy endowed with the same characteristics as an elephant, but in addition he had on the palms of both hands and the soles of his feet the marks of the Buddhist "wheel of life," the characteristic of Living Buddhas. This boy was the genuine incarnation of the holy man who had loved the elephant to such an extent. The new Buddha became as celebrated over all India for his elephant features as for his universal charity, which extended not only to human beings, but even to all animals.

Also in India, a holy lama, very fond of animals, squatted under a tree from dawn to dusk, year after

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year, devoutly reciting sacred texts, and only a lovely 539
pigeon, perching on the lowest branch of the tree, was listening and enjoying the reading of the holy books, during all these years. The holy man loved the pigeon ardently and fed it every day. The pigeon died, and was reincarnated in a boy born into a poor family in the mountains, and on the very day of his birth he asked distinctly, three times, "Where is my master so-and-so?" The fact spread all over the country like a prairie fire; everybody came to look at the wonderful boy whose fingers and toes were webbed, whose hands were unusually beautiful and fine. As the boy grew he walked as upright as a pole, always his right foot first. Nobody had ever seen such a handsome, intelligent boy. Then the parents were told, by lamas, that the boy was the incarnation of the lovely pigeon, which during years had enjoyed the reading of the texts of the holy man whose name he pronounced three times at the very moment of birth. The boy became a celebrated learned lama, endowed with universal charity for animals. The congregation enjoyed the moralistic conclusion: be kind to animals, because Buddha loves such persons and blesses their families; their merits will be turned into more joy in paradise and the rebirth will be more happy and outstanding.

In Tibet, on the summit of a mountain, there lived in a cave a holy hermit, always praying in order that the animals might be happy, and preaching the love of animals. In his cave hung the picture of a Buddha, painted in a wonderful landscape, wherein a couple of cows grazed in a meadow. The holy man, practicing severe penance, received from the people some flour and tea leaves, and always he drank tea without milk or butter (which is one of the most tremendous kinds of penance for Tibetans). Once Buddha, delighted with the behavior of the holy hermit, suggested that he approach the picture hanging on the wall, and gave him the power to milk both the cows that were there depicted, and from that time on the holy man got milk in his tea. So great is the love of Buddha for those who love animals.

Another topic of the lectures concerned the necessity 538
of performing acts of charity, giving alms to the poor, and especially to the lamas, in order to get remission of sins and an easy entrance into paradise. The merits of good acts performed in behalf of holy lamas, Living Buddhas, and lamaseries are more important and valuable than those performed for less holy men, because lamas are the beloved of Buddha, and the good old Li supported his assumption by a lot of savory examples.

A certain old lama was the beloved of Buddha to such 539
an extent that several times, when he was praying in the temple, the lamas saw all the statues opening their eyes, moving their heads, and smiling wonderfully at him. Another was so holy that once, as he said his Om Mani over his beads, they became red hot from the glow of his love, and melted away. Another holy lama was preaching in a wealthy village. The chief of the

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village started ridiculing and deprecating him. Buddha could not stand this, and made five tongues protrude out of the chief's mouth and made him fall dead on the spot, after which the village became a barren waste. 539

Another of the Living Buddha's topics, several times repeated to me, was that all the Monguor and Tibetan tribes would disappear, many families already being without male issue. The reason, he said, is that nearly all the departed already dwell in paradise and wait there for us, so that now the faster Monguors and Tibetans disappear, the sooner paradise will be furnished with happy inhabitants. "Make your sons become lamas," he would say, "for lamas surely arrive in paradise. However, among the dying, only those who, at the very moment of their death, trust in Buddha may hope to be reborn in a lotus near Buddha, where for thousands of years they will be happy, and where all the inhabitants will be taller and stronger and more beautiful than we are here."

Such are the topics of most of the preaching during the fast exercises. Many times the fasters repeated that they loved the old Li because after every preaching he made them crave for pardon for all their sins, and because he could say the Om Manis over his beads with a wonderful unction. He had touched the hearts of the people. 538

IMPACT OF THE FASTING RITES UPON MONGUOR SOCIETY

Although these exercises were only attended by a relatively small number of older people, their impact upon the families cannot be overestimated, because the old people repeated at home the topics of the lectures and the anecdotes, and because, since the authority with which the old people are vested in a patriarchal society is supreme, they cultivated in the orbit of the family the sense of religiosity; the habit of praying and of craving for pardon. Chiefs, and elders of villages who had attended the meetings, unconsciously and unwittingly were guided by these principles in the administration of the village and in the patching up of troubles. The impact was all the more important because, year after year, the exercises were repeated by the adored old Li, a man with an illustrious pedigree, a scion of the noble and wealthy family of the Li T'u-ssu. The old Li was a personality who provoked a revival of religious feeling in the country. 771 785 869

The anecdotes, ingenuously narrated in the schools by the children, had led me to make inquiries among the fasters themselves about the fast exercises, which before had seemed to me to be an unimportant institution, attended by old women without any bearing on the religious life of the communities. However, taking account of the overall number of the yearly participants in the six centers, and the number of men who attended them, even chiefs of villages and elders, and of the fact that in a patriarchal society the old people wield a supreme influence and also of the strong personality of

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5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li
Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory letters and with the order to come to Peking, the expenses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100 *tan* of grain. At the same time the emperor, with delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a stele in a temple built by himself to remind future generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon him.

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu 30: 45*a–b*; *Annals* of Hsining 35: 6*a–b*):

In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had won the most distinguished merits during the expedition. He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people, and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he informed the emperor about the completion of the construction. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang-fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and appointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the sacrifices and worship in the temple.

One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tsung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Ssu (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9
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devotion to the empire. Emperor Yung Lo whom he had served in the expeditions in the desert had given him a precious sword and a famous horse. In 1425 Li Yin had fought the brigands in Anting and at the head of his soldiers had attacked the brigands and himself had killed many among them. He had captured a booty of 130,000 cattle. The emperor had sent minister Yang Yung to congratulate him. His merits were unusual and therefore he received in his dream a visit from the god of war . . . all these circumstances we have recorded on the stele, etc.

Without doubt the titles received by Li Yin, the building of the temple and the name given to it by the emperor himself, the stele, and the wonderful dreams went straight to the heart of the clan members and strengthened the cohesion of the Li clan. All these circumstances normally seem to have been conducive at that time to the building of an elaborate clan cemetery and to the erection in 1426 of the famous "spirit way stele" in honor of Li Nan-ko, the founder of the clan, father of Li Yin.

However, the behavior of Li Yin, puffed up with pride, had changed after he had been honored so magnificently by the emperor. The Governor of Ninghsia, Shih Chao, who had previously been Governor of Hsining, accused him of fostering subversive intentions. Li Yin could disprove the accusation. In Hsining he had assembled 700 families, fugitives from justice, whom he protected. He had settled them in the country and had given them land to till. But they harmed their neighbors, stealing and upsetting the country. Again complaints were lodged with the board of military justice, and Li Yin was ordered to turn over his tenants to the civil authority. In 1432 Ch'i Ch'eng, descendant of T'u-ssu Ch'i, T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh, was his father's lawful successor to the office of t'u-ssu. The bold Li Yin, not bothering to offend the prominent Ch'i t'u-ssu clan, supported as successor to the t'u-ssu office Chien Tsang, the nephew of Ch'i Ch'eng, who was the son of his sister. He appointed murderers to kill Ch'i Ch'eng. He was accused again. This time the military judges rolled all the accusations into one, condemned him to prison, to the revocation of his titles and honors and to capital punishment. In 1437 the emperor pardoned him, allowing him a small emolument. Soon thereafter he died (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*a*).

HUANGCHUNG T'U-SSU UNDER THE SUBSEQUENT EMPERORS

After the death of Yung Lo, (1424) the alarming confusion and struggle continued unabated among the eastern and western Mongols, both groups appointing their own Khans, who were merely nominal supreme chiefs and actually blind tools in the hands of Togon and A-lu-t'ai who controlled the two groups. A-lu-t'ai, weakened after many encounters with the Chinese and Oirat troops; was finally defeated and killed by the Oirat, Togon, in 1434; and the hegemony of the Oirats